1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'Iguróyóni, neishop, neisheri en-þukuri nariþakino 'nghera 'natwan pákin. Neitanapi eng-orioñg, neriki eng-añg o-'l-mórno lenye, nerubere ol-mórno, oo 'l-tuñgának aare 'l-chorneta lenyena, oo 'n-gituak are o-'ng-añg o-'Iguróyóni.

Nemesiñye, erikitoi ale akiti oo metabai. Ore pe ebaiki, neisheri en-gerai, neiróti.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

Ten eiyam ol-mórno o-Iguróyóni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, ama torono. Eduñgiki se-arna. Enyer naleñg aipotye eng-arna o-'l-power lenye, anaa 'N-oo-'Ilóure.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Seure age. 551 593 777 [561]

Ten eata ol-tuñgani oo-'l-Masaae 'n-giaku kumok, neidim eiyama 'Iguróyok kumok. Ehii kulikae ociyam 'Iguróyok are, ana uni, ana oñgwan; kake eiyam il-karaisi, ten eiyóu, tomon ana tigitim.

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

Ten eiyam ol-Masaani kat'-are aruki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aini ol-aabe, naa ninye eimalye eng-aini aje Paashe.

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

Meidim il-Masaae áiyama 'Iguróyok o-'ng-aji enye ten eioni to-'l-oaho tho, kake eidim áiyama 'Iguróyok o-'n-giahóni enye, neidim áiyama 'Iguróyok o-'ng-oo-kiahóni.

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

when the *aigwenani loongishu pokin* was recognised as a general leader. [119]

Judicial activity is not a real part of the *aigwenani's* office. It all depends on his personality and on how much he is favoured by his age-mates, who may ask him to arbitrate and settle their disputes. [120]

The election and the status of the *aunoni-oluno* as the ceremonial leader of the age-unit has already been described. A peculiar duty of the *aunoni's* office is the responsibility " for the smart turnout of the *moran* (initiates) ". [121] MERKER, [122] and HOLLIS, [123] state that the *aunoni* was responsible to the prophet (*laibon*) for the organisation of raids. The anonymous author of *MS.* 48, p. 4, describes him as the mascot of the unit when this was at war: " as long as he is alive they (the unit-members) cannot be beaten by the enemy... For this reason they take him on their raids ".

The relationship between the *aigwenani* and the *aunoni* is not clear. It seems certain that the latter has a more ceremonial and ritual character than the former.

The term of office for all these officers is limited to the existence of the age-unit as such; but they will always be distinguished and sought for their opinion.

The analysis of the unit's leaders does not offer a complete picture of the internal structure of the age-unit. This structure rests on two other institutions, namely the *manyatta*, which is the proper

[119] The *aigwenani* was not expected to take part in the actual fighting: he had to be in the rear to govern the action or, as FOSBROOKE, p. 38, puts it, " probably because the *laipusnan* wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked ". At present, adds FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " the relations between senior *laipusnak* and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale common efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of *moran* (initiates) came together for raids the senior *laipusnak* (sic.) must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture ".

[120] " It appears ", writes FOSBROOKE, p. 38, " to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges... If a local *laipusnan* has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no *laipusnan* is present ".

[121] FOSBROOKE, p. 40. So, no initiate was supposed to cut off his pig-tail coiffure without the permission of the *aunoni*.

[122] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 122.

[123] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 299 n. 1.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

E-TAREMU EN-GIOO: ABORTION

Abortion is rare.[1] Should a woman cause herself to abort, the matter is left to the women of the kraal, who generally beat the culprit. 682a

If a woman is made to abort by her husband or by another man, the matter is again left to the women. They may beat the culprit, but the more usual procedure is for them to take an ox of the abortionist's to some quiet place and beat it to death with sticks. The women then eat this ox, but no men or no pregnant women may be present while they are doing so.[2]

IL-DEKETA: CURSES

If a warrior should curse an Elder, he must offer him a cow, a calf and a bottle of honey. If he does not do this, he will die.[3] 683

If one warrior is cursed by another, he may try to kill him. If he succeeds in doing so, he is liable to no penalty. On the other hand, he may bring the matter before the Council of Elders, who will fine the guilty party. [692]

IL-MOMA LOO-'L-MAASAE: MASAI ORDEALS

Eng-duo: *The Bow*[4]

A strung bow is laid on the ground and the deponent swears in front of the Elders that his words are true. He then steps over the bow. Should his words be true, no harm will come to him, but should he be telling a lie, he will have bad luck and may shortly die. 695 [777]

[1] During three and a half years spent with the Masai of Tanganyika Territory, I came across only one case of abortion. In this, the husband had caused his wife to abort, as he was jealous of the father of the child. This man was a warrior of the same age as that to which the husband belonged.

[2] The converse of the custom whereby no women may see meat for the warriors' consumption before it has been cooked.

[3] For examples of Masai curses, see Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 344.

[4] *Eng-duo* is no longer regarded very seriously by the younger generation of Masai, many of whom are causing into disuse in consequence. The other ordeals, particularly *Eng-dati*, are still regarded with awe, and I think it would be difficult to find a Masai living with the Tribe who would be prepared to testify falsely under ordeal.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
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Eng-ilati : The Reim

695 A short reim is greased with butter at both ends. The accused grasps one end with his left hand and his accuser the other, also with his left hand. The accuser is then told to cut the reim in the middle with a knife or sword which he is given for the purpose. If he does so and is making a false accusation, he will die. The accused may also be called upon to cut the reim in support of his defence. A similar fate will befall him if he is lying. (This form of oath is considered very binding, and no Masai will enter upon it lightly. It may be compared with the Nandi ordeal described on page 77 of *The Nandi* by Sir Claud Hollis.)

Em-bere : The Spear

The iron-shod haft of a spear is driven into the ground for about a foot, and is then withdrawn. The deponent urinates, and then spits into the hole thus made. No one may look while he is doing this, and all turn their backs. He then swears that his words are true. The Elders then fill in the hole with earth and stamp it down. If the deponent is lying, he will die.

En-aishó : The Honey-wine

If a man is accused of theft and denies it, he must drink from a gourd of honey-wine in front of the Elders, having sworn that he is innocent. If he is telling the truth, he has nothing to fear, but if he is guilty he will have no more luck in life and will probably end by being killed by a lion.

[699]

It is an axiom of the Masai that no punishments should be laid down in the event of a man being discovered to have, deliberately, made a false oath. The matter is left to God, and the offender is invariably suitably punished by Him.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is either drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days.

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the warrior classes, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (*see* Murder), all maimed, blind, and otherwise damaged cattle are returned immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

PART X.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a few live coals borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no punishment. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man raid the murderer's sub-clan and try to seize cattle in compensation. Usually a free fight takes place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a raid all sorts of cattle are driven off, but all the blind and maimed ones are returned next morning (*see* Raiding, above).

Smiths.—Among the Masai smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and once initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary novices or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and rank as a true Masai if he so chooses, but never a smith.

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough fleshy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Masai would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Masai, but not *vice versa*), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Masai girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Masai buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

777 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*ol korpellis*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 576 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

173 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Twati*, *Il Talala*, *'L Aimer*, *Il Nyangusi*, *Il Twati*, *Il Kidotu*, *I Merishare*, *Il Tiegi*, *Il Salaash*, and *Il Meshopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naiteru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adualo. Meaning unknown

Or'at = Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ānyi Oing'ok = When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Donyerie ol o Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Olepunyi Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Guju Orok = The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

/110 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears: eñ orobó menje = accumbens patri /one who lies with her father/, eñ orobó 'l alahe = accumbens fratri /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: hai em ballsch = you, vulva; hai, e mówo = you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

ñotonji eñ gomos = vagina matris;

ol agambai Eñg ai = hated by 'Ng ai;

tababuá = stumble;

ol agaischiri Eñg ai = cry to God (when you get a beating);

e mai = stupid fellow;

hai ol madai (or e madai) = you stupid fellow (stupid girl);

id' ol airirua, you are a blockhead;

id ol bua, you are a rowdy;

id' ol dillo endoi, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol dillo, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, [136] the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one en route hears it call- • [777] ing on the steppe from the left side, it means good luck, but if it [825] calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol agatar' em baie, that is, die by an arrow, ol agawa ol gollug = die of fever; ol bebedo = of the upele sickness; ol minjaloi = of smallpox; eñ gohogge = of stomach or intestinal sickness; ol agataremo el gigaret = may the thorns prick you; ol agatarigi ol mairon = may your belly burst from eating; ol agairokischo = become black; ol agoibarra = rogue, brawler; e at' ol marenge = slanderer, gossiper; ol duñgani serieri = bad fellow; ol duñgani guret = coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 593 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

/111/ The mother designates her child as 'l aischa 'Ng ai = child given me by God, as eñ gutok e jẽjo = mouth of the mother, or as ol oib e jẽjo = resting place of the mother. The father calls it ara ñgotonji = child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters talk fondly to younger ones with the term ara e jẽjo = child of mother.

/111 cont./

192 832 When one so often sees how the warriors flirt with the girls and how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is joruert' ai = my darling, while the girl calls him ol djore lai = my friend, or also says ãnjõr nalen = I love you very much, to which the warrior replies: ãdol ãde eñ gawariš = we shall see (literally videbo noctu /I shall see at night/).

XIII.

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The blacksmiths. -- Their own kraals. -- Their social position. -- Attitude toward the blacksmiths. -- Workshop. -- Tools. -- Iron extraction. -- Technique. -- Blacksmiths' products; their prices. -- Wire drawing.

564 326 [736] [614] [613] The kraals of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true Masai kraals. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith tribe, since there are blacksmiths (ol kononi, el konono) in all three tribes and also in all lineages, except the El kiboron, and neither a single tribe nor a single lineage consists exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the Masai, the despised and detested, the unclean, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as ol móruo. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains ol kononi, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand -- which happens only very exceptionally -- a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal [777] (eñg an el konono) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

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luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el mŏran l el konono) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
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other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who
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does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784]
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the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mbulu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

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Fig. 62. (½)

Fig. 63. (½

Merker phot.

Ill. 48. Hair style el babet.

[412] a sharpened little pieceof sheet iron which is called ol moronja (Fig. 62). Before the shaving the hair is moistened with water.

[177] The head is usually shaved during the es sobia days, the 18th to 20th day of the month, o that on the unlucky day, ol onjugi, the 17th day of the month, he head is not bald. The shorn hair is tossed into the thorn fene of the kraal. Beard hair and such lashes

[412] that grow back into the eye are plucked out with tweezers (Fig. 63 [ol buiti]). An exception to this is made by the men of the El

[613] kiboron lineage, who ar not permitted to pluck out their beard hair

[189] because otherwise they would lose their power, in particular the

[526] supernatural one that enables them to bring and to conjure away rain.

/159 cont./

805 The 10th day, as tomon negera, as the final day of the first decade.

The 15th day, as ol gadet and final day of the eńg ebor ol aba.

• [777] The 16th day, as ol onjori; it is the unlucky day for war and the initial day of en aimen (= the darkness).

[777] [784] The 17th day, as ol onjugi; it is the most important unlucky day in daily life, but on the other hand, is regarded as a lucky day in war; on the ol onjugi people do not change dwellings, do not shave their heads, and do not undertake any circumcision.

The 18th day to 20th day, as es sobiaĭn.

The 20th day, as en ekiborōn, on which the boys belonging to the El kiborōn lineage are circumcised, and as the final day of the second decade.

The 21st day to 23rd day, as mgeĭn.

[784] The 24th day, as initial day of the en aimen narok; on it no sacrifices may be offered, and frequently too, just as on the subsequent en aimen narok days, no circumcision is to take place.

The following days up to the end of the month, as en aimen narok.

Within these days, the 4th, 10th, 17th, 24th, and 1st are again especially familiar.

805 821 132 Three months form a season; four seasons, the year (ol arĭ). The names of the seasons are:

Ol dumeril, that is, the time of little rainfall, which precedes the great rainy season. This falls in the eń gokwa, named after the Pleiades, which then rise low on the western horizon.

/160/ Then follows the ol airodjerod, the season of the lighter after-rains, and then the ol ameĭl, the period of hunger, of drought.

The months of ol dumeril are: 1. ol gissan, in which the goats and sheep bring forth young; 2. ol adallo, that is, the heat of the sun; 3. ol golua.

The months of en gokwa are: 1. ig erat, formed from er rata = green valley. The rain, which has fallen meagerly up to now, has been sufficient to cover with fresh green the valleys and deeper lying places in the otherwise still yellow, dry steppe. 2. os somisso, the dark, gloomy one. The sky is cloudy, it rains a great deal, the days are gloomy and dark. 3. ol serierua, formed from serneri = fat; the cattle soon become fat because of the young, fresh grass.

/163 cont./

232 Bulls that develop unfavorably and seem unsuitable for breeding are castrated by the smashing of the spermatic cords with the club between the wood and string of a bow (a-idôn). The testicles are not removed, but are left to atrophy. In the same /164/ way one proceeds to castrate goats, sheep, and donkeys, but the latter always not until they are fully grown. Bulls and bucks with unnatural sexual instincts are slaughtered as soon as the vice is noticed, since they are regarded as bringing bad luck. It is believed that, as a result of their behavior, they bring the punishment of God upon the herd in the form of an epidemic.

231 The donkeys are small, square-built, strong, and steadfast. With nicely arched cruppers, a rounded neck, firm and fleshy shanks, they are very similar in shape to the zebra. Their coloring is a uniform light gray with a black cross over the back and shoulders. They serve only to carry burdens, whereas oxen are only rarely used.

233

Ill. 54. Masai goats and sheep.